

HEAR Hon. GEO. H. PENDLETON.

Letter to Hon. JOHN B. HASKIN.

CINCINNATI, October 17.

MY DEAR SIR: I have received your friendly letter. Malignant misrepresentations and falsehoods are so frequent in our political struggles, that I have rarely undertaken to correct or refute them.

I make no professions of a new faith, only repeat my reiterated professions of an old one, when I say that there is no one who cherishes a greater regard for the Union, who has a higher sense of its inestimable benefits, who would more earnestly labor for its restoration by all means which will effect that end, than myself. The Union is the guarantee of the peace, the power, the prosperity of this people; and no man would deprecate more heartily, or oppose more persistently, the establishment of another government over any portion of the territory ever within its limits.

I am in favor of exacting no conditions, insisting upon no terms, not prescribed in the Constitution, and I am opposed to any course of policy which will defeat the reestablishment of the Government upon its old foundations, and in its territorial integrity.

I am, very truly yours, etc.,

GEORGE H. PENDLETON.

Hon. JOHN B. HASKIN, N. Y.

Letter to Hon. C. L. WARD.

CINCINNATI, October 18.

MY DEAR SIR: I have received your letter. In the very beginning of this war—in the first days of the extra session of 1861—I said in my place in Congress, that I would vote for all measures necessary to enable the Government to maintain its honor and dignity and prevent disaster to its flag. I have done so.

I thought, by the adoption of such measures, the faith of the Government was pledged to the troops in the field, and must not be forfeited by inadequate supplies. I never gave a vote which was incompatible with this sentiment.

All appropriations, pure and simple, for the support and efficiency of the army and navy, had my cordial concurrence. It was only when they were connected with other, and improper, appropriations; when by reason of their popularity they were loaded down with fraudulent items for the benefit of contractors and speculators, and every attempt to separate them failed; when they were made a stalking-horse for some abolition scheme, that I was constrained reluctantly to vote against the whole bill.

But I repeat that I voted against no bill which was confined simply to the object of supplies for the army and the navy.

I am, very truly yours,

GEORGE H. PENDLETON.

Hon. C. L. WARD, Philadelphia, Pa.

SPEECH AT NEW-YORK HOTEL,

OCTOBER 24th, 1864.

I THANK you for this manifestation of your kind feeling toward myself. I am the more grateful for it as it comes from men who have stood in the fore-front of danger, and periled their lives for their country. (Loud cheers.) I accept it as an evidence of your confidence in and of your sympathy with my devotion to the Union and the Constitution. (Three cheers for Geo. H. Pendleton.)

I have rarely found it necessary to reply to any personal attack. A friend has just handed me a pamphlet, which he tells me has extensive circulation both here and in the army. It professes to be a record of my speeches and votes in Congress, and to prove from them my hostility to the Republic. It professes to be published by the "Union Congressional Committee," and to be compiled from the *Congressional Globe*, to which it appeals for its entire accuracy. On the seventh page of that pamphlet, I am charged with having voted against certain resolutions on the seventh of July, 1864. Now, if any of you gentlemen will examine the *Globe*, or the file of any daily newspaper of your city, or will even tax his recollection, he will find that Congress adjourned on the fourth day of July, 1864. (Great laughter.) From this specimen of fraud and forgery, I leave you to judge of the credibility of the whole fabrication. (Laughter and applause.)

I was born in Ohio. I have lived all my life in the North-West. I know the sentiment of the people. I sympathize entirely with it. They are attached by every tie of affection and interest to this Union. (Loud cheering.)

Unlike New-York, they have never known another Government; they never existed as a political community before this Government was formed, and their hearts cling to this Government with indescribable tenacity. (Great applause.) Unlike you, they are

an inland people chiefly devoted to agriculture. As an integral and controlling portion of the Union, they have prestige and power; they fear from disunion, isolation from the world, and the loss of that prestige and power. (Cheers.) Their interest requires that they should have speedy and easy communication with the ocean, and this they intend to have, both by the Gulf of Mexico and the city of New-York, by conciliation and peace if they can, by all the force and power which a teeming population and a fruitful soil give them if they must. (Loud cheers.) They believe that the first step toward maintaining the Union is the election of General McClellan: (Great cheering.) They believe that the restoration of the Democratic party to power will produce Union. (Cheers.) They believe the policy of this Administration toward both the Southern and Northern States is fatal to the Union. ("That's so.") General McClellan, in his Harrison Landing letter, said: "*Neither confiscation of property, nor political executions of persons, nor territorial organization of States, nor forcible abolition of slavery, should be for one moment thought of.*"

In his letter of acceptance he said: "*The Union was originally formed by the exercise of a spirit of conciliation and compromise. To restore and preserve it, a like spirit must prevail in the councils of the country and in the hearts of the people.*" (Cheers.)

The Democratic party is pledged to an unswerving fidelity to the Union under the Constitution. (Cheers.) It is pledged to "the restoration of peace on the basis of the Federal Union of the States." (Loud applause.)

We believe, nay, we know, that if this party shall be restored to power, if this policy shall prevail, the Union shall be restored; State after State will return to us, and the echoes of our rejoicing will come down to us from the vaults of heaven itself, in token that Deity approves that statesmanship which tempers all its policy with moderation, and justice, and conciliation. (Cheers.)

When next I meet you, I hope we may have already entered on that work. Again, gentlemen, I thank you for your attention, and wish you good-night. (Loud and long cheers followed the speech.)

LINCOLN the REBEL CANDIDATE.

From the Richmond Enquirer, Sept. 5.

THE Democratic nominees in the United States are McClellan for President and Pendleton for Vice-President. What concern have the people of the confederate States in the fate of these candidates at the approaching election? In our opinion, the interest and hope of peace is not greatly advanced by these nominations. From General McClellan our people can have but little hope of peace, other than a reconstruction peace. . . . What hope do his antecedents hold out that should encourage our people to believe that he would yield our nationality any sooner than Mr. Lincoln? *He is by far the more dangerous man for us ; had his policy been persistently followed, and the war conducted on the principles of civilized warfare, he might have divided our people and perhaps conquered our liberties.* With consummate abilities, he clearly foresaw that emancipation might possibly free the negroes, but could not unite the sections ; that confiscation might enrich his soldiers, but could not reconcile our people ; hence, with an earnest and honest love for the Union, he avoided these fatal acts, and conducted the war for the restoration of the Union, rather than the destruction of the South. His policy was the olive-branch in one hand and the sword in the other, to conquer by power and conciliate by kindness. *It was a most dangerous policy for us ; for if the ameliorating hand of Federal kindness had softened the rigors of war, our people would not have been subjected to those terrible fires of suffering by which Mr. Lincoln has hardened every heart and steeled every sentiment against our merciless foes.* As a sincere secessionist, preferring war and nationality to peace and the Union, we looked upon the fact of a difference between Mr. Lincoln and General McClellan as to the proper policy of conducting the war, as peculiarly fortunate for our cause. We hailed the proclamations of emancipation and confiscation, and the policy of plunder and devastation, as sure pledges of our ultimate triumph ; they were terrible ordeals, but they most effectually eradicated every sentiment of Union, and arousing the pride as well as the interest of our people, inflamed the patriotism of the whole, until they would have accepted death as preferable to ultimate defeat.

Now, between McClellan and Lincoln there are many points of difference ; the former is a man of talent, of information, of firmness, and great military

experience and ability ; the latter is a supple, pliant, easy fool, a good but vulgar joker. While McClellan has the interest of the Union only at heart, Mr. Lincoln has the fanatical object of freeing negroes for his inspiration. Between "my plan," as General Grant has conducted it, and one by General McClellan, there could not have been the same success that has already attended our arms ; *for we lost more men fighting the science of McClellan on the Peninsula, than we have in repelling the furious but ill-conducted assaults of General Grant. Thus, whether we look at this nomination in the light of peace or of war, we prefer Lincoln to McClellan. We can make better terms of peace with anti-slavery fanatics than with an earnest Unionist.* We can gain more military success in a war conducted on "my plan" than one of a real soldier like McClellan, and sooner destroy the resources and strength of our enemy where they are managed and manipulated by the light-fingered gentry of Messrs. Chase and Fessenden, than when husbanded and skilfully controlled by such a man as Guthrie. *Our best hope is from the honest fanatics of the United States, men who believe in their hearts that slavery is the "sum of all villainies," and who really and sincerely believe it to be their duty to separate their country from this "relic of barbarism." Such men, when they find that their people are tired of the war, will end it by a peace that sacrifices territory to freedom, and will let the South "go," provided she carries slavery with her.* These men believe no less that the just powers of government are derived from the consent of the governed, than "that all men are created free and equal." The two postulates are of like importance to an abolitionist.

Both the abolitionist and the Democrat is our enemy—the one, because we have slaves, the other, because we are disunionists. Nor does their enmity differ in degree ; they both hate us most intensely. The Chicago platform is, that "peace may be restored on the basis of the Federal Union of the States"—that is, reconstruction of the Union as it was, with slavery protected by the nominal laws, but warred upon by a real sentiment, aggravated and embittered by the war. The reconstructed Union of the Chicago platform would be the certain destruction—first, of slavery, and next of slaveholders. With Lincoln and the Baltimore platform, we of the confederate States know where we are—outside of the pale of mercy, devoted to ruin and destruction, with no hope save in the justice and protection of God, and the courage and manliness of our soldiers. *With swords and muskets and cannon we fight Lincoln, and the past affords no reason of apprehension of the future. But in the reconstructed Union of the Chicago platform we would be deprived of our weapons without being reconciled to our foes.*

The disruption of old political associations is always a hazardous experiment. The great majority of minds in a wealthy and prosperous community are averse to change and revolution, preferring to endure great evils rather than resort to sanguinary measures for redress. No men ever felt the weight of this truth more forcibly than those who inaugurated the movement for secession. The whole danger and risk of the experiment consisted in that conservative aversion to change and convulsion which pos-

sesses the popular masses. On this rock the secession cause might have split, if it *had not been safely piloted past it by the pains of Abraham Lincoln*. The cause was saved in 1862 by the conscription; and Lincoln—not the *Examiner* newspaper—may be said to have been the author of the conscription; because, except for the ferocious policy which he pursued, it could never have been enforced. He has rendered resistance an absolute duty and necessity, and brought that duty and necessity home to every man's door, insomuch, that no man in the South having any self-respect or regard for the opinions of his neighbors, dares to disobey the call of his country to arms.

But for the incentives supplied by Mr. Lincoln, the South, by want of union and energy, might have failed to deserve the respect of mankind; might have been unable to levy great armies; and the forces in the field might have fought with little energy or resolution. The popular majority might have been disposed, at the first soft words from the enemy, to renounce the Southern cause, and return to the enjoyment of repose, prosperity, and dishonor. Mr. Lincoln has prevented such a contingency, and relieved the South of all these dangers by a course of policy which rendered reconciliation impossible. *By driving us to extremity, he has combined every element of our strength, and insured our success*. If the South could be conquered at all, there is but one mode by which it could be done. If the armies of the North were entirely withdrawn, and an invitation proposed for a convention of all the States, for the purpose of devising terms of conciliation, then our independence might be seriously endangered. Such would have been the policy of Pierce or Vallandigham; such, possibly, though not probably, might become the policy of McClellan. But Mr. Lincoln relieves us of this only possible danger by a policy which drives every man to arms, and renders reconstruction an opprobrium throughout the land.

While the South has much for which to thank Mr. Lincoln, the North has still more for which to curse him. His administration has cost the United States half a million of men, eleven States with ten millions of population, embracing many thousands of millions of wealth, and has entailed three thousand millions of public debt. He is the very genius of ruin and destruction to his country, and seems to have endeared himself in its affections by the very loss and woe he has inflicted upon it.

If the people of the United States choose to reelect him, *they thereby pronounce a decree establishing the independence of the South*. We can bring larger armies into the field to fight Lincoln than any other Northern President, and his continuation in office will inspire every Southern breast with the resolve to win independence as the only alternative to extermination.

There is no question that between the two men General McClellan enjoys far more of the respect of the people of these States than Lincoln, and the Democratic party far more of our confidence than the Republican, and that *if reconstruction were possible, it would be more probable under General McClellan and the Democracy than under Lincoln and the Republicans*. The North-West inspires one, and New-England the other; but as long as

New-England imposes the dogmas of her civilization and the tenets of her fanaticism upon the mind and people of the North-West, there may be peace and separation, but there can never be Union and harmony. If the North-West desires the restoration of the Union, let its people shake off the bondage of New-England, and *show to the world that a new era of toleration and fraternal kindness has risen in the place of fanatical Puritanism and selfish ostracism.*

From the Richmond Examiner, October 17.

SOME doubt remains as to the political complexion of Pennsylvania. The press of the United States has become so radically mendacious, that it is impossible to put trust in the first accounts even of an event so public and plain as the result of an election. Some days may yet elapse before certitude is attained. But we entertain strong hopes that the Republicans have done what they seemed at first to have done, and confess a deep desire that the present result may foreshadow the reelection of Abraham Lincoln. *For Abraham Lincoln is the South's best ally.* This Confederacy had a million and a quarter men capable of bearing arms at the outset of the contest: a force sufficient to meet any invading power and defy the possibility of subjugation. The only danger lay in the difficulty of bringing this force into the field. *Abraham Lincoln removed that difficulty by the character which he imparted to the war.* He made Goths and Vandals of his troops, and proclaimed devastation, confiscation, and extermination as his purpose. It was thus that he invoked into the field those powerful Southern armies which have so successfully resisted his assaults. It is scarcely possible to conceive how a conflict could have been rendered more envenomed than the present one has become through that truculent policy of Mr. Lincoln. Yet this man found a means of intensifying its ferocity. He proclaimed insurrection to the slaves, and armed all the blacks which he could seduce into his service, against the whites who had been their masters. By this policy he effectually succeeded in calling out and combining every element of resistance in the South—a strong element of that resistance is yet to come, as will appear soon after the meeting of the confederate Congress. The enemy talk of the despotism which drags conscripts into the Southern armies, and forces old men and children into the ditches, but the despotism which coerces the South is seated at Washington, and not at Richmond. The Confederacy has proved that it had nerve and resolution to achieve an independent destiny; but it is indebted to Lincoln for forcing these qualities into action.